

Expansion and Control — Islamic Basic Education in Thailand under Multicultural Circumstances

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Abstract

This chapter describes multicultural policy concerning Islamic basic education in Thailand, policy implementation, Muslim responses, and the resultant changes to Islamic basic education. Multicultural circumstances in Thailand are also examined in this chapter.

Islamic basic education has been affected by multicultural circumstances developing in Thailand since the 1990s. Though Islamic basic education was limited in contents and system before, it has been developing with the support of the Thai government. This has also made it possible to strengthen government control over Islamic basic educational institutions which had hitherto operated independently. In this situation of M village in Trang province, southern Thailand, Islamic teachers elude administration and carry out educational activities against government regulations. A privileged view by residents and inaction by local officers enable the above activities. In any event, such activities have led to educational change, such as the provision of effective student-focused learning systems through cooperation between primary school and Mosque Islamic Learning Center. Through M village's example, multicultural circumstances surrounding Islamic basic education in Thailand can be understood as a coexistence between the benevolent expansion of Islamic basic education – the official reason - and supervision of Islamic basic education by the government. Both are oriented differently. Islamic teachers ignore government regulations in order to enhance the efficiency of Islamic education, but run the risk that the underlying conflict between expansion and control may be exposed. It may be due to Thai characteristics that such serious problems do not appear at present. We must continue to observe this exquisite relationship between the two.

Key words: Thailand, Islamic Basic Education, Multicultural Circumstances, Khurusamphan Association, Expansion and Control

1 Introduction

It goes without saying that there are various ethnic groups such as Thai, Malay, Chinese, and others living in Thailand. Through a national integration policy based on a national ideology called *lak thai* (consisting of the Thai nation [*chat*], religion [*satsana*], and the king [*phramahakasat*]), their traditional cultures have been put on the periphery of national majority cultures such as Thai and Buddhism. From the 1990s, however, when national integration was accomplished to some extent and impacts of globalization were visible, the Thai government reviewed policies to address cultural diversity. For example, in education field, religions besides Buddhism, and local knowledge (*phumpanya thongthin*, traditional ideas and techniques) were included in curricula by two laws: “BE2540 the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand” in 1997, and “BE2542 National Education Law” in 1999, both enforced after the Asian financial crisis (Morishita 2007).

This chapter describes multicultural policy concerning Islamic basic education in Thailand, policy implementation, Muslim responses, and the resultant changes to Islamic basic education. This chapter also discloses Thailand’s multicultural circumstances¹.

2 Islamic Basic Education in Thailand

In Thailand, school education is divided into three stages: primary (*prathom su’ksa*, six years), secondary (*matthayom su’ksa*, six years further divided into lower and upper secondary, three years apiece), and higher (*udom su’ksa*), for which completion of primary and the lower secondary education are prerequisites. Alongside this, Islamic education is conducted at all levels, in various institutions inside and outside the public education system.

This section describes situations where public primary schools and Islamic learning centers attached to mosques (hereafter “Mosque Islamic Learning Centers”) provide Islamic basic education to Muslim communities through relationships with the Thai government and the Islamic resurgence movement.

2.1 Public Primary Schools

Our first focus is on Islamic education at public primary schools. Public primary schools were established across Thailand, including in Muslim communities, by “1921 Primary Education Order”. However, unlike Buddhism which was included in the syllabus, Islam was only introduced into elementary schools in 1976. This year, Islamic education commenced in four southern border provinces (*si cangwat chaidang phak tai*)² where Muslims are the religious majority. Islamic education were introduced into all Thai public elementary schools by the government in 1997³. All elementary schools providing Islamic education are obliged to follow the curriculum and textbooks provided by the Ministry of Education (*Krasuang Su’ksathikan*). Also, Islamic teachers must pass the propriety examination managed by the ministry and submit personal records. In short, both the content and teachers of Islamic education at public primary schools are regulated by the Thai government.

2.2 Mosque Islamic Learning Centers

Religious education institutions aimed at Muslim youth have existed in Muslim communities in Thailand for a long time. One type are ‘Mosque Islamic Learning Centers’⁴. These institutions provide Islamic education to community members - especially primary education stage children - using mosques as classrooms. Usually, a resident who has some Islamic knowledge becomes an Islamic teacher (*to khru*) and teaches basic Islam (*fanduin*), including the way of reciting the *Quran*. According to Rohani, Mosque Islamic Learning Centers are divided into the following: (i) centers for pre-school children, (ii) centers for elementary school and lower secondary school students, and (iii) centers for all-age Muslims (Rohani 2003: 24–25).

Although all Thai mosques must register with the Department of Religion (*Krom Kansatsana*) by law, Mosque Islamic Learning Centers are exempted. Thus, Mosque Islamic Learning Centers carry out educational activities with total discretion. The centers cover costs through donations from residents and

Islamic institutions, receiving no support from the Thai government.

Under these circumstances, the ‘Mosque Islamic Learning Center Support Project’ (*khrongkan utnun sun oprom satsana itsalam lae cariyatham pracam matsayit*, literally means mosque moral education center support project), was initiated by the Department of Religion in 1998. This project aimed to improve the quality of Islamic education of the centers, with financial support from the government towards expenses such as teachers’ salaries and equipment costs. This was aimed at improving chances for young Muslims at risk of drugs (*ya septit*), and to promote sound growth. Mosque Islamic Learning Centers wishing support from this project have to satisfy the following conditions: (i) to be properly registered with the Department of Religion, (ii) to have an established management committee (*Khanakanmakan Borihan Sun*, hereafter “Mosque Islamic Learning Center Management Committee”), (iii) to have a ratio of one teacher for every forty students, (iv) to guarantee that all teachers have finished at least compulsory education plus at least three years’ teaching Islamic studies, certified by their provincial Islamic council (*Khanakanmakan Itsalam Pracam Cangwat*)⁵, and (v) to provide safe classrooms, appropriately sized to the number of students.

As conditions of registration, centers must use curriculum designated by the Department of Religion and provide details on teachers and students to the Department, such as name, age, and residential address. Furthermore, centers must submit annual activity reports including students’ names, details of education activities, revenues, and expenditures (Krom Kansatsana 2005b: 59–72).

In short, Mosque Islamic Learning Centers wishing support from this project were under the State control. Information on Mosque Islamic Learning Centers submitted to the Department of Religion is shared with the supervisory District Cultural Sections (*Samnakngan Watthanatham Amphoe*) and Provincial Islamic Councils.

Whether to receive project assistance or not is left to the discretion of each center. Therefore, Mosque Islamic Learning Centers are now divided into registered and unregistered centers.

2.3 Khurusamphan Association

When considering Islamic basic education in Thailand, it is impossible to overlook the Khurusamphan Association (*Samakhom Khurusamphan*) which conducts Islamic basic education nationwide⁶. This association was founded by sixteen graduates from Bangrak Anyuman Islamic School (*Rongrian Anyuman Itsalam Bangrak*) in Bangkok, with Pracha Mukhari the chairman in 1956. At the time, Thai Muslim youth were facing difficulty learning Islam from textbooks written in foreign languages such as Arabic and Malay. The Khurusamphan Association was formed to reduce this difficulty by initially providing textbooks written in Thai and a curriculum for the learning of basic Islam. The Association has engaged in Islamic education activities using such textbooks and curriculum ever since. Today, the Khurusamphan Association is a hierarchical structure comprised of a head office in Bangbuathong district, Nonthaburi province, nine education wards (*khet kansu'ksa*), seventy three test sections (*nuaisop*), and various affiliate schools (*rongrian fandin khong samakhom khurusamphan*). The Association runs nation-wide educational activities except in the eastern region where Muslims are a religious minority, and four southern border provinces where Malay Muslims are a religious majority (Khurusamphan Association Home Page).

Schools affiliated with the Khurusamphan Association adopt a nine-year system divided into three stages: stage (*chan*) one – grade one to three, stage two – grade four to six, stage three – grade seven to nine. Each stage has its own curriculum. In the 2002 curriculum, all grades shared seven theoretical subjects: *Quran* (*an kuroan*), Grounds of Belief (*lakkan sattha*), Islamic Law (*satsanabanyat*), Morality (*cariyatham*), *Hadith* (*an hadit*), and History of Islam (*satsana prawat*), plus Student Development Activity (*kitcakam phatana phurian*) as a practical subject. Interpretation of the *Quran* (*at-tatyawit*) and Arabic (*phasa arab*) are common subjects in the second and third stages. Basics of *Quran* Studies (*lakphitcarana an kuroan*) and Basics of *Hadith* Studies (*lakphitcarana an hadit*) are common subjects through the third stage (Witrut 2006: 20). Each grade uses texts provided by the Khurusamphan Association⁷. To advance, students must pass a national

test, held twice a year on all subjects.

Thus, the Khurusamphan Association has been systematizing Islamic basic education in Thailand through the nationally-standardized curriculum and Islamic textbooks written in Thai, as well as rolling out educational and enrichment activities nationwide. However, support to Association schools is limited to offer the education system.

Next, we focus on the relationship between the Khurusamphan Association and the Thai government. Their relationship has recently deepened. For instance, the Association's curriculum was designated the exclusive curriculum for use at Mosque Islamic Learning Centers in Thai-speaking Muslim areas by the Mosque Islamic Learning Center Support Project (Krom Kansatsana 2005b:23). In addition, local administrative organizations have been encouraging Mosque Islamic Learning Centers in their regions to join the Association because of its systematic approach to Muslim youth education. For instance, in Trang province where this chapter takes up, the Provincial Administrative Organization (*Ongkan Borihan Suan Cangwat Trang*)⁸ held meeting to promote the Khurusamphan Association system to Islamic teachers on July 8, 2006 (Fig 1).



Figure 1 Khurusamphan Association Explanatory Meeting
(Muang Trang District, Trang Province)



Figure 2 Khurusamphan Association Certificate of Completion
(Note *chularatchamontri* signature at lower left)

Another example of the close relationship between the Khurusamphan Association and the Thai government: students who complete 4th grade at Association schools receive certificates signed by the Association chairman and ‘*chularatchamontri*’ at the end of each school year (Fig 2). *Chularatchamontri* is a title given to Muslim from the Thai royal family since the Ayutthaya dynasty. Today, the title indicates a state advisor on Islamic affairs. In brief, the *chularatchamontri* signature shows that the Khurusamphan Association is a religious organization endorsed by the Thai government.

3 Expansion and Control

This section describes the state of Islamic basic education in the case of M village (fictitious name) in Trang province, southern Thailand.

3.1 Overview of M Village

M village is a fishing village on the Andaman coast in Trang province, about 864

km from Bangkok, the capital of Thailand (Fig 3). By author survey, village population and number of households in December 2004 were about 1,000 and 195 respectively, with all residents were Thai-speaking Muslims. The village is surrounded by sea and water-ways, like an island. Before a road was built between M village and neighboring T village in 1996, boat was the only way to access M village. Most villagers engage in small-scale fishing, characterized by the use of small boats with outboard engines, and depending on the domestic market.

Muslims living on the west coast of southern Thailand - including in M village - are culturally more similar to Buddhists than to Malay-speaking Muslims on the east coast. While the latter play central roles in anti-government movements continuing in the deep south of Thailand, the former in contrast have



Figure 3 Map of Southern Thailand

little to do with these political problems⁹. Malay-speaking Muslims also previously played eminent roles in Islamic higher education in Thailand and in other Southeast Asian countries (Hasan 1990). However, in present day, Islamic basic knowledge is taught at private and public schools in their communities in similar ways to Thai-speaking Muslim communities.

3.2 Changes of Mosque Islamic Learning Centers

3.2.1 Establishing Centers and Joining the Khurusamphan Association

Private schools teaching Qur’anic recitation to Muslim youth (hereafter “Private *Quran* School”) have long existed in Thai Muslim communities. In M village, the five Private *Quran* Schools were its only religious educational institutions until 1990, when a Mosque Islamic Learning Center was established. The biggest school among them was established by Mr. A (fictitious name), who was born in 1950 and learned the basics of Islam from his father between the age of seven and twenty-one. He opened a Private *Quran* School at the age of 25. Mr. A’s school steadily grew through his discipline as *imam* (religious leader who leads Islamic formal prayers). As a result, his school became the biggest in M village, with more than ten students in lessons at any one time. However, Mr. A gradually came to doubt teaching methods focusing exclusively on reciting the *Quran*. He now believes Muslim youth need not only recite the *Quran*, but also learn broader Islamic knowledge, such as the contents and history of the *Quran*, in order to become “Real Muslims (*mutsalim thae*)”. Furthermore he feels that educating more Muslim children is part of his responsibility as an *imam*. Mr. A proposed the establishment of a Mosque Islamic Learning Center to the local mosque Islam committee (*Khanakammakan Itsalam Pracam Matsayit*, hereafter “Mosque Committee”)¹⁰ in M village, and so the Nurunhidayat School (*Rongrian Nurunhidayat*) was opened in 1990. This event is considered a milestone in Islamic education in M village. The number of center’s students increased over thirty including Mr. A’s old students.

Mr. A taught by himself every day from the end of the *maghrib* prayer until

the start of the *isha* prayer, barring exceptional circumstances. He taught basic Islamic knowledge such as the contents of the Quran, the history of Islam, and ways of prayer.

According to Mr. A, Khurusamphan Association representatives visited M village in 1997, seven years after the founding of its Mosque Islamic Learning Center. They explained the Khurusamphan Association's education system to the Mosque Committee members including Mr. A at the time and recommended that the center join it. The Mosque Committee members were positive about this proposal. However, the Mosque of the time was too small to be a Khurusamphan Association school. The Mosque Committee sought financial and physical assistance to modify the center. After several years, they built a building equipped with desk, chair, blackboard, and electric fan in the precincts of the village mosque in 1999, with the aid of many private companies, NGOs and Muslim communities both in and out of Trang province. Around the same time, Mr. A retired as *imam* but continued as an Islamic educator.

The Mosque Islamic Learning Center in M village was affiliated with the Khurusamphan Association in 2000 and now belongs to the thirty-third test section of its sixth education ward. As of July 2006, there were 149 students; 23 in first grade, 24 in second grade, 14 in third grade, 15 in fourth grade, 16 in fifth grade, 18 in sixth grade, 14 in seventh grade, 16 in eighth grade, and 9 in ninth grade. Almost 90% of students at M village elementary school (*Rongrian Ban M*, six-year system with six classes) are also learning Islam at the Mosque Islamic Learning Center. Meanwhile, two official religious leaders have joined Mr. A as teachers. They are Mr. B (fictitious name, born 1967, *imam* and younger brother of Mr. A), and Mr. M (fictitious name, born in 1958, *muezzin*)¹¹.

Since joining the Khurusamphan Association, the center runs classes daily for two hours: from the end of school until just before the *maghrib* prayer, and between the *maghrib* prayer and the *isha* prayer (Fig 4). Class hours doubled after joining the Association, when the extra hour between the *maghrib* and *isha* prayers was added. The center systematically teaches the Khurusamphan Asso-



Figure 4 Mosque Islamic Learning Center environment
(M village, Trang province)

ciation aforementioned multi-subject following the Association curriculum. In addition, students perform *maghrib* and *isha* prayers between and after class at the village mosque with local men. Thus, the Mosque Islamic Learning Center has taught not only Islamic theory (*phak thritsadi*) but also religious practice (*phak patibat*) since joining the Khurusamphan Association. The center is currently the biggest and most influential religious educational institution in M village.

3.2.2 State Registration

The Mosque Islamic Learning Center in M village applied for the Department of Religion's support project and was accepted in 2002, two years after joining the Khurusamphan Association. As a result, the center received 2,000 Baht (about 6,000 Yen)¹² per year towards equipment cost and 2,000 Baht per year towards salaries of the teachers. However, the integration of Mosque Islamic Learning Centers into Thai government has also increased. For example, Mosque Islamic Learning Center management committee was established anew in M village. Furthermore, teaching candidates must submit the documents on learning histories

in common and religious education, Islamic teaching career, and teaching competence to the Department of Religion. The persons who passed through the inspection was authorized as teachers. In addition, the Mosque Islamic Learning Center has submitted annual reports including student details, contents of educational activities carried out by the center, and operating finances to the Department of Religion since 2002. Thus, the Mosque Islamic Learning Center in M village is under state control while receiving financial support from the Thai government.

3.2.3 Islamic Education in Elementary School

As described previously, Islamic tuition began in Thai elementary schools in 1997. M village elementary school obtained authorization and budget approval from the Ministry of Education in May, 2000¹³.

Students are divided into two stages: stage 1, from first to third grade, and stage 2, from fourth to sixth grade. Classes with differing hours are held at each stage; two periods per week for stage 1, and three periods a week for stage 2¹⁴. There is no full-time teacher. Mr. A teaches all classes by himself as a part-time teacher receiving a salary (200 Baht per period) from the Ministry of Education. Classes consist of five subjects: Grounds of Belief, Morality, History of Islam, the *Quran*, and Arabic.

Mr. A has been put in sole charge of class progress. He notes the weak points of students, because around 90% of students also learn in the Mosque Islamic Learning Center after school. In class he uses textbooks provided by the Khurusamphan Association, but not those provided by the Ministry of Education. Advancement examinations are held annually and mini-tests are held every class to check student progress. According to Mr. A, he adapts his teaching based on the results of the mini tests. Mandatory school uniforms were changed from Thai to Islamic styles in July 2006; Islamic hats and long trousers for boys, and long sleeve shirts, long skirts, and veils for girls (Fig 5)¹⁵.



Figure 5 Elementary School Girl in an Islamic Style Uniform
(M village, Trang Province)

4 Discussion

Here, we analyze our previous description of Islamic basic education in M village.

4.1 Expansion and Control

As mentioned previously, the Mosque Islamic Learning Center in M village could expand its size, facilities, and curriculum through joining both the Khurusamphan Association and the Mosque Learning Center Support Project managed by the Department of Religion. Participation with the Khurusamphan Association brought about: (i) more students, teachers, and class hours, (ii) a systematic education system, and (iii) broader curriculum. The Mosque Learning Center Support Project provided financial support to supplement the villager's material and moral assistance to the center.

Whereas in M village primary school, Buddhism has been taught in social studies classes for a long time, Islamic education only began receiving authoriza-

tion and financial support from the Ministry of Education in 2000. This enabled Muslim youth in M village to learn Islam in the public education system. Students unable to learn at the Mosque Islamic Learning Center could thus have a chance to learn Islam.

M village's Islamic education environment was improved and expanded with support from the Thai government. This has contributed to a deeper understanding of Islam in local Muslim youth¹⁶.

However, the Thai government's intentions also lie beyond pure education, which is clear when we focus on its procedural requirements. Islamic education in elementary school must strictly follow the curriculum and textbooks provided by the Ministry of Education. Also, Islamic teachers must take propriety examinations managed by the Ministry of Education, and register their personal information with the Ministry upon passing. In short, Islam is taught according to government curriculum by government-approved teachers in the elementary school.

The situation surrounding the Mosque Islamic Learning Center in M village is similar to that of the elementary school. The Thai government has increased its involvement in the M village Mosque Islamic Learning Center since commencement of the Support Project in 2002. For instance, to become center teachers, candidates involving Mr.A had to submit documents as to their ordinary and religious education, teaching history of Islam, and teaching competence to the Department of Religion. They also had to pass examinations managed by the department. As mentioned above, the center sends detailed reports to the Department of Religion annually. These requirements enable the Thai government to monitor the center. Additionally, the Khurusamphan Association's curriculum was designated the exclusive curriculum for use at Mosque Islamic Learning Centers in Thai-speaking Muslim areas including M village by the Mosque Islamic Learning Center Support Project. It means that M village Mosque Islamic Learning Center teaches government-approved Islam. As mentioned above, the recent Islamic education policies of the Thai government have

been expanding Islamic education in M village, while also strengthening control by the government. Both expansion and control of Islamic education coexist. At the same time, it means that both elementary school and Mosque Islamic Learning Center now work to spread an “official Islam” authorized by the Thai government. In this way, the Thai government has penetrated deeply into the Islamic education in M village.

4.2 Lax Government Control of Islamic Basic Education

Even in this situation, educational activities evade government control. For example, the Department of Religion requires Mosque Islamic Learning Centers wishing to participate the Support Project to adopt a six-year system for children at the primary education stage. However, M village’s Mosque Islamic Learning Center keeps the nine-year system at present. Because this requirement could not be satisfied by aforementioned Khurusamphan Association rules and broadening class age groups.

A movement can also be seen in M village to free Islamic education of the elementary school from government regulation. The five Islamic subjects taught at the elementary school and the seven compulsory subjects taught at Mosque Islamic Learning center overlap almost entirely. Mr. A, who teaches at both institutions, remediates weak points of students who also learn at Mosque Islamic Learning Center using Khurusamphan Association texts instead of texts provided by the Ministry of Education. In short, Islamic education at elementary school is supplementary for the students who can attend the Mosque Islamic Learning Center.

These educational activities can be thus unregulated due to lax government control of Islamic basic education. There were never any inspections by District Cultural Section officers in charge of managing the Mosque Islamic Learning Centers in K district, where M village is located. Islamic education in M village elementary school has likewise not been audited. Mr. A, who teaches all Islamic subjects in the school also manages classes and other teachers, including the

principal, have never interfered in his teaching.

We cannot ignore the privilege (*barami*) Islamic teachers enjoy when we explore the lax government control. As shown above, M village Islamic teachers are also Mosque Committee members elected by the residents. They play central roles in Islamic matters, such as rituals, as well as education, while also having deep connections with Islamic contacts outside their villages. These religious leaders (*phunam satsana*) command the respect of many villagers because of their privilege¹⁷. Elementary school teachers and district officers outside the community also acknowledge Islamic teachers as their superiors. When the author pointed out that Islamic education in M village elementary school contravened government regulations, the principal said he humbly deferred to Mr. A, and that Mr. A's ripe experiences in Islamic education was reason not to criticize his activities. This example illustrates the privilege and discretion Islamic teachers enjoy.

5 Concluding Remarks

Islamic basic education has been affected by changing multicultural circumstances in Thailand since the 1990s. Though Islamic basic education was limited in contents and system before, it has been developing with the support of the Thai government. At the same time, this has also made it possible to strengthen government control over Islamic basic educational institutions which had hitherto operated independently.

In this environment, M village Islamic teachers continue to flout control and educate outside government regulations. The resident's view of privilege and inaction by local officers make possible the above activities¹⁸. Such activities have led to educational change, such as the provision of effective student-focused learning systems through cooperation between primary school and Mosque Islamic Learning Center.

From the example of M village, multicultural circumstances surrounding Islamic basic education in Thailand can be understood as a coexistence between

the benevolent expansion of Islamic basic education – the official reason - and supervision of Islamic basic education by the government. Both are oriented differently. Islamic teachers ignore government regulations in order to enhance the efficiency of Islamic education, but run the risk that the underlying conflict between expansion and control may be exposed, attracting government sanction. It may be due to Thai characteristics that such serious problems do not appear at present. Islamic basic education policy may also cause problems for the integration of Malay-speaking Muslims. Islam is a core element of their identity. Therefore, if these policies are considered government intervention with Islam by Malay-speaking Muslims, it could aggravate their distrust of the Thai government.

We must continue to observe this exquisite relationship between the two.

Notes

- 1 The main survey for this work was conducted in southern Thailand from March 2004 to July 2006. It was made possible through the financial supports from the Japan Foundation and the Niwano Peace Foundation.
- 2 These provinces are Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun.
- 3 As to why Islamic education was improved in the 1990s, the Democrat Party (*Phak Prachathipat*), drawing heavy support from south Thailand where 70% of Thai Muslims live, was in power for 8 years (except 1991 and 1996).
- 4 This center is named *Tadika*, in the border region of southern Thailand where Malay-speaking Muslims are a religious majority. *Tadika* is an abbreviation of '*Taman Didikan Kanak-Kanak*' which means 'place to educate children' in Malay (Rohani 2003: 21).
- 5 A Provincial Islamic Council consists of nine to thirty elected members serving six-year terms. They are authorized Islamic organizations established in 36 provinces where Muslims form large populations. Councils not only supervise and support the religious activity of Muslims living in these provinces, but also give the advise on Islamic things to the governor (Krom Kansatsana 2005a: 27–29).
- 6 Khurusamphan means "Teachers Association" in Thai.
- 7 In the 'Student Development Activity' subject, students practice obligatory deeds of Islam, such as prayer, body cleansing, and reciting the Quran.
- 8 In 1995, a Provincial Administrative Organization was an autonomous body cov-

ering a wider area. Today, these organizations have been established in 75 prefectures except the Bangkok metropolitan region. Their jurisdictional areas overlaps provincial borders. A Provincial Administrative Organization consists of both a Provincial Assembly and Provincial Government. The head and members of the autonomous body are directly elected by locals. The main duties of the organizations are: establishing regulations, formulating development plans, preserving and supporting regional environment and culture, and so on. (Iseji 2004: 99).

- 9 Various factors, such as history, have led to these differences. However, they will not be covered here due to space limitations.
- 10 The Mosque Committee consists of 6 to 12 elected four-year-term members (hereafter “Mosque Committee Members”) including *imam*, *khatib* (*khotep*, Friday prayer leader), and *muezzin* (*bilan*, leader of the call to prayer). This authorized Islamic organization manages and supports community religious activities (Krom Kantsana 2005a: 15–19).
- 11 Mr. B is also a Mosque Committee member and the chairman of the management committee of the Mosque Islamic Learning Center. Mr. M is a member of both the Mosque Committee and the Mosque Islamic Learning Center management committee.
- 12 One Baht was equivalent to about three Japanese Yen in July 2006.
- 13 In M village, the learning general curriculum is expressed as *rian thai* and the learning Islam is expressed as *rian khaek*. The Thai term *khaek* to mean visitor is also a derogatory term which Thais apply to Malays, Arabs and Indians (Cornish 1999:1). However, this term does not have any negative connotations in M village.
- 14 One period is 50 minutes.
- 15 Mr. A and the elementary school principal pointed out the following problems with Islamic education in M village elementary school: (i) few school hours, (ii) the unstable position of the part-time teacher, and (iii) the small size of the subsidy from the Department of Education.
- 16 This change contributes to Islamic resurgence in M village. For details, please see (Ogawa 2009a, Ogawa 2009b).
- 17 The transnational Islamic resurgence movement known as Tablighi Jama’at is led by Islamic teachers, including Mr. A, and is popular among villagers because of the privilege enjoyed by Islamic teachers (Ogawa 2012).
- 18 Due to space constraints, a detailed analysis on this point will be left for other articles.

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